FAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): We cannot have everything tomorrow. *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: We have to finish it today.

SHRI P. UPENDRA: We have sat on Saturday also, as you know. Otherwise, it would have taken the whole of today.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Induction of army in Assam

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN): Sir, I wish to apprise the Hon'ble Members of the House that at the request of the Government of Assam, the Army is providing aid to civil authorities in certain districts of the State.

It may be recalled that President's Rule was imposed in the State of Assam on 27.11.1990 and the State Assembly was dissolved. After the dissolution of the ninth Lok Sabha, elections were held to the Parliament in the State of Assam as elsewhere in the country. Simultaneously, elections were also held to the State Assembly and with the constitution of the new State Assembly, a popular Government with Shri Hiteswar Saikia as Chief Minister assumed office on 30-6-1991. The very next day, the ULFA kidnapped 14 persons serving the Central and State Governments and the ONGC including a Russian Mining Engineer.

This incident of kidnapping was followed by an escalation in the violent activities such as extortion, kidnapping, assault and murder. The State Government made every effort to secure the release of the kidnapped persons and even released about 500 ULFA activists detained under the TADA. Despite this generous gesture on the part of the State Government, the ULFA continued to increase the demand and pressed for the release of several detenus who were facing very serious charges. The Chief Minister had all the time been making efforts to secure the release of the hostages. Shri Bipul Mahanta, former President of the Assam Yuba Chatra Parishad and self-proclaimed Convenor of the Amnesty International who mediated on this issue, was killed by the ULFA. They also killed Shri T. S. Raju, Assistant Executive Engineer of the ONGC displaying utter disregard to human life. Earlier, they had killed the Russian Mining Engineer who was one of the 14 kidnapped persons.

The Government of Assam felt that the situation had become very grave. They felt that a large induction of forces was necessary to deal with the situation and, therefore, to control the situation, bring confidence to people and to restore law and order, the State Government requisitioned Army in aid to civil authorities to operate against the ULFA extremists in the following districts:—

(1) Jorhat
(2) Dibruearh
(3) Tinsukia
(4) Sibsagar
(5) Nagaon
(6) Sonitpur
(7) Golaghat
(8) Dhemaji
(9) North Lakhimpur

The State Government informed the Central Government through two wireless messages dated 5-9-91 that requisition had already been sent to the Sub-area Commander for Army help in aid to civil authorities in the above districts. The Chief Minister, through his letter dated the 8th September, 1991 addressed to me, requested that instructions may be issued for immediate deployment of Army inaid to civil authorities. I discussed the situation in Assam with all the MP- from Assam individually and collectively.

It was decided to accept the request of the Government and the Chief Minister of Assam to provide assistance of Army in aid of civil authorities in the specified districts of Assam. The Army has, accordingly, moved in Assam in the above districts and has started to assist in operations against the ULFA,

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

The Chief Minister has referred fa* the links of the ULFA with Bangladesh, Pakistan and China. He has informed[1] me that his reference is based in the interrogation of some of the ULFA activists and some documents recovered from them. These countries have denied any such involvement.

The Govt, of India are deeply concerned about the . continued detention of three officers of Assam Government including an IAS officer and four ONGC-'Officers. I trust that they will be released soon and normalcy in the Stat? will be restored early to enable us to withdraw the Army.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : Sir, I congratulate the Government for taking a bold stand and a timely action to bring discipline in Assam. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have been listening in this House for the last *loui*-jfive years, whenever we discuss Assam, Punjab and Kashmir, that a. politick solution should he found and all along, I have been trying to find out what Is that specific solution or a political sortition. No political party had mentioned it in black and white. The House says, let the Prime Minister come and discuss it. The Prime Minister discussed it but no political solution came out because Kashmir has got a different poetical problem and a different solution-Punjab is still worse and falls in another category and now there is the ULFA in Assam. As the statement has rightly pointed out, the ULFA activities which have been rightly alleged to have been aided by China, Pakistan and Bangladesh, is a very serious matter on our border on this side. If the Government would not have take this stand, it would have weakened the security of this nation in those border areas. Mr. Vice-Cbairman, Sir, I need not bring to to notice of the Home Minister because he is quite knowledgeable. The people in this country have become demoralise. Every dry morning when we open the newspapers we find "74 killed in Punjab", "another 20 abducted by militants in Kashmir, "15 kidnapped by ULFA in Assam", and particularly they an terrorising, kidnapping the persons em ployed in the ONGC in the State ONGC is the lifeline of this country We are already economically very weak There is little prospect of our getting oil from USSR and there is no hare currency with us to purchase oil. So I think the demoralisation of the people perhaps will become much more. Con-ifidence can be regenerated if the Government has a killer instinct in itself Sir, I want two minutes and I will finish. I don't mean by "killer" that you go on a killing spree,, but have an instinct whereby the terrorists, the kidnapper; and the smugglers will feel that the Government is hard enough to take harsh steps, whenever nfcessary., in. that line. I congratulate you and your Government for deploying the Army because the confidence of the people should not be demoralised. Don't weaker the confidence of the people. The strength of this country lies in the people As I stated, I find the political solutior a myth. Really I demand that sucl strong action is necessary right frorr Assam, Punjab to Kashmir. Please don't let us down. The country needs protection, the country needs a solutior whereby the confidence of the people living in this country is strengthened.

The last point I want to bring to youi notice, Mr. Home Minister, is this Sometimes a major action or an *ad hot* solution lies in releasing some person; and not releasing others. Thereby, some people the statuswalas, get a different treatment and I, a poor man, don't get that treatment. Somebody says "I losl my husband" somebody says "I lost m} brother" and somebody says "I lost m\ sister." I think now the Governmenl should insist on a policy; I want you Mr. Home Minister, to take it in a proper spirit that we must have an organisation like Isreal, we must try to terrorise these terrorists so that they will be afraid of indulging in such activities.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Only three minutes are allowed to each speaker. Shri G. G, Swell, not here. Shr David Ledger,

SHRI DAVID LEDGER (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as the hon. Minister has mentioned in his statement, there was a meeting of Members of Parliament belonging to all parties from Assam the day before yesterday; that is on the 14th, in the Parliament House itself. In that meeting the hon. Petroleum Minister who had paid a recent visit to Assam was also present and he gave a brief background of what had transpired during 'his visit to the State, and the members cutting across party lines has stressed on one point basically and that was, the priority of the Government should be to release the hostages and not to go in for a tough line because if the Government goes in for a tough line, the lives of the hostages will be in danger. In the evening we all saw the hon. Home Minister on the television i making an appeal to the ULFA to abjure violence and to settle matters through negotiations and dialogue. Sir, this gesture of the hon. Home Minister kindled a ray of hope in the mind of everybody because it is for the first time such a move had been made. But surprisingly enough on the next morning when we woke up we got the news that the Army had already beem deployed in some districts of Assam as a result of the decision taken in the Cabinet meeting which was held on the previous night. I would like to know from the hon. Minister three things: (1) What was the urgency which prompted the Government to go in for the hard option? Was it on the insistence of the Chief Minister of Assam as many of us have understood it to be or was it because of any other urgency, any latest development? (2) Does the Government have any proposal or plan to initiate a political dialogue to make a sincere political move for a direct talk between the Centre and the ULFA? (3) Mr. Bipul Mahanta's name has been mentioned in the statement. He was the self-procl aimed convenor of Assam Branch of Amnesty International who was recently reportedly shot by the ULFA. Was that person deputed by the Central Government? These three things I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister. I would be grateful to him if he should give the clarifications.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. we were surprised to learn from the newspapers yesterday morning that the Army had been deployed in Assam on 14th at midnight because in the morning on 14th the Home Minister invited us and we expressed our views that no hard line should be taken at the present moment if the Government had any intention to have a solution to the problem. We insisted that over the head of the State Government, if the State Government is not capable at all to establish any contact, the Central Government should try to establish contact with the militants and have a dialogue with them because it is not a law and order problem at all. It is a political problem and a political problem must be solved politically. I even ventilated my ideas, my thoughts, that the LILFA have subscribed to a certain political ideology of their own and so it must be politically solved and not with bullets. But the Home Minister did not give any hint that the Government was going to take the hard line. In today's newspapers it is seen that the Chief Minister of Assam, Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, has expressed astonishment at the deployment of the Army. He has stated, "without my knowledge the Army was deployed". So I want to know from the hon. Home Minister very cate gorically whether it was at the instance of the Chief Minister or without the knowledge of the Chief Minister that th Army had been deployed in the State

My second question is whether, from 14th evening up to 16th evening, that is, today— about 40 hours have passed— any ULFA leader could be spotted or arrested. If so, their names should be revealed here—whom the Army could apprehend. My third point is whether the army could get the release of all the seven hostages. There are seven hostages still in the custody of ULFA. I want to know whether those seven hostages could be got released. If not. what is the position, what is the stand, of the Government? How is the Government going to get them released? How is the Home Minister convinced -that the Government would be able to get the release of all those seven hostages? I

[Dr. Nagen Saikia]

want to ask another point. Yesterday the Home Minister made an appeal to the militants and it appeared on the TV screen. 1 want to know whether the Government is sincere even now to make some contact and have a dialogue with the militants to find a solution to the problem. Fifthly, how many people have been arrested till this moment and are there any charges, any major charges, against some arrested persons? On all these points I hope the Home Minis-tsr will give me an answer and make the stand of the Government clear that the Government would try its best to .solve the problem politically, not by deploying the military a>nd not with bullets.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the statement which has been made with regard to deployment of army in Assam details the reasons for such deployment. Basically speaking, it should be the endeavour of the Government, for that matter of every Government, that matters are settled without use of the army, but, on the other hand, the State Police and the ol'oer agencies which are available should he used to deal with such situations. It is unfortunate that the army had to be deployed. I would ask the honourable Minister to let us know whether any provisions of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act or the Disturbed Areas Act have been extended to Assam. Secondly, *I* would like the honourable Minister to point out what the basis is of the present turmoil In Assam. What are the demands of the people who are carrying on the activities which have led to kidnapping and other unlawful activities, and are those demands of a political nature? If so, I would like to know whether the Government would not be acting in the interests of the country that those matters are discussed threadbare across the table with the people who are making those demands, instead of going in for .such action. If the root cause of the trouble it tackled, I think we shall have enduring jwace in our country. Thirdly, I would remind the honourable Minister that it is not for the first time that in our country we have resorted to the use of the armed forces of our country which are primarily meant to safeguard our borders and the territorial integrity and not to be used against the people of the country itself. I want to know whether these forces which we have deployed can be recalled at an earlier stage and whether from the past sxperience the Minister would keep in mind that such use has generally been counter-productive, not in the national interests. It has sometimes complicated the matters and has led to alienation of the people. And care should be taken that innocent people do not get involved because of any excesses or because of Army action which creates a vicious circle leading to the involvement of the young people. They they think that it is better to die in another way rather than getting caught and dying by excesses. Such a situation may not come into being because we are con-fronted with such situations in some parts of the country, as the Home Minister knows. And care should taken, lest v.e land ourselves into a quagmire as we have landed in some parts of our country and that will not be in the national interest and that would be a difficult situation ultimately to control.

Sir, these are my questions which the hon. Minister may kindly answer.

SHRf P. UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh). Sir, I do not find fault with the Government if it decides to take a hardline to contain the extremist activities. In fact, the activities of the militants have increased enormously during the last few weeks. Kidnappings and murders have taken place. And coming from Andhra Pradesh, I am particularly grieved by the murder of one of the bright young offlcers, Mr. Raju by the ULFA. Therefore, the situation demands a stig action, no doubt. But I am not convinced that deployment *of Army* on such a large scale is the solution to the problem there. This is almost a desperate step. And *if* you see our experience in Kashmir, Punjab and other places, it has not really worked. And even in Assam,

the deployment of Army in the past had not achieved the desired results. Moreover, it evoked hostility among the public. There were confirmed or unconfirmed allegations of mass rapes and repression. And the Army has been put into disrepute and there is a pubic alienation as far as the Army is concerned. Therefore, deploying the Army on such a large scale for doing a policeman's duty is not correct. Army is particularly meant to defend our borders. They should be used in the case of wars, etc. and under extreme circumstances. But the Army nowadays is being used in all types of jobs including the ordinary police-man's job. And as a result, the efficacy of the Army is also being blunted gradually. After all, this is the last step. If the Army also fails to control the situation, then to whom you will entrust the job? Therefore, it is one point which the Minister and the Government have to consider. Probably, the time has come that the Minister should consider setting up a Crack Force, specially trained Crack Force, to deal the extremist activities in various parts of the conntry. It is not necessary that it should be called an Army and all that. You can give similar training and even more training to deal with the specific situations in various parts of the country. Therefore. there should be a Special Force for this type of activities. And also now since the Army has already been deployed, it should he replaced as quickly as possible by other paramilitary forces. There are a number of paramilitary forces. They can be put to effective use also. And also, I would like to know what steps are being taken to aetthe hostages released, the hostages who are in the custodv of the ULFA. And as our friends have rightly pointed out. you cannot go on treating such situations as mere law and problems. And whatever yon call it. whether you call it State action or State represssion. it always evokes reprisals, and it is a full circle now. There is *v.* State repression, then there are reprisals, and again you use the Army and the police. There is no end to it.

Therefore you have to ultimately find a political solution to this problem also. And what has the Home Minister got in his mind to find a political solution to this problem?

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I must congratulate and thank the Government for the timely action. Strong action was necessary because of the very grave situation prevailing there and the international connections about which we have heard. The documents disclose terrorists' close links with Bangladesh, Pakistan and China. The Minister has not mentioned about Burma. I would like to know- about Burma also. There was a talk about LTTE links also. The Chief Minister of course repeatedly requested for the army induction. There are some reports that he has expressed surprise over the timing of the induction of the army. Was he taken into confidence about the timing? Second, a lot of time has passed. I would like to know what progress has been made by the army in its operations? How many arrests have been made, and how any important leaders been captured?

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Nagen Saikia) in the Chair]

Last time the "Operation Bajrang" leaked out and most of the terrorist leaders escaped to neighbouring countries. I would like to know what is the position now, because one newspaper which I have with me says that on Arunachal Pradesh Assam border, of four camps raided by the army three camps were found completely deserted and some rifles were found in the fourth camp. So I want to make sure that the liming of the induction of Army was a closely guared secret so that nothing goes wrong. I would also like to know what is the news about the hostages because a lot of speculation is there and apprehensions have been expressed that they might take revenge on the hostages. I would like to know whether the Government has any information about the safety of hostages Then there is aspeculation in the Press about Government's intention to suspend the State Assembly for three months. I would like to know about that also.

The hon. Minister has made important observations about the documents concerning their links with China, Bangladesh and Pakistan. I would like to know whether China rs selling arms. What do these 'locuments show? As far as security is concerned, I cannot press the hon. Minis-

[Shri Kapil Verma]

ter to disclose anything which may go against national interests, but subject to security considerations and compulsions. I would like to know whether China is selling arms or giving training. Or both? Have you taken it up with the Chinese Government? Then, there are reports that Bangladesh has been running camps for them and that the ransom money that has been collected, by terrorists, running into several crores of rupees, has been deposited in a bank in Bangladesh. I want to know what has happened to that money. Has Bangladesh Government given any information? 1 want to know about not only funds but about arms also from Pakistan, what is the police doing? What is happening to that? Then there were reports in newspapers and it was mentioned in the Honse also about terrorists links with LTTE. Can the Minister throw some light on this also? I would also like to know whether there has been any link with the militants of Nagaland and Manipur. My 1aSt question is whether the Government has any intention of opening any political dialogue, with the militants,,the ULFA and whether the Gov-rnment are taking any steps to see that there are no excesses by security forces againsr honest and innocent people so that such complaint-! are not there, So that we may be able to carry local public opinion with us.

SHRI BHADRESWAR BURAGOHAIN (Assam}: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before asking clarifications, I want to point out two irreuul antes I have seen in the state ment. First is, the Assam Assmbly was not dissolved. It was not under suspended animation. And the second is Mr. Bipul Mahanta was not the President of the Assam Yuba Chatra Parishad. He was a General-Secretary of this organisation. We are shocked at the sudden deployment of army in Assam. This is the third operation. First was. operation Bairang. second was. Operation Sher-E-Dil and *the* thir-d-tN Operation Rhong. Enough, has been done agair-sf the peopla of Assam by the arrov in last two operations We have got bitter experience. At Mr. Upendra has Said, there will be series of atrocities, molestations, rapes, killings and allegations of fake encounters from other Side. We will have to raise the same issue.

SHRI P. UPENDRA: I did not say this, I said there was some allegation like this.

SHRI BHADRESWAR BURAGOHAIN: It is my submission. I admit it. So, this will have to be discussed here and in that you will find that the army may be demoralised. They are not being train to-deal with the local people. They have been trained to protect the indfpendence or the borders of the country. So, I do not know when I am speaking here in the House what is going on in villages after the deployment of army. Something might have been done alrady. I have got a telephone call from Dibrugarh that there was. no human being in the town after 6 o'clock. There are no buyers and sellers in the market because of army atrocities in previous operations. So deployment of army is a wrong signal. I must submit that 70 per cent of the people of Assam are anti-Delhi. But they are not anti-India. More than 70 per cent of the people of Assam are anti-Delhi. We have got a long-standing grievance against the Centre that we have been! neglected right from the pre-indepen-dence days. Today we have got a very bad news from the silver mouth of the Deputy Chairman of the Plannig Com-nrssion, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. He has dec'ared that there would be no-cas-cracker plant and the refinery in Assam due to financial constraint at present. This is a very bad signal. This news wilt also go against the people of Assam. We are being neglected by the Centre. I say it again that the people of Assam are anti-Delhi, not anti-national or anti-Indian.

My first question for clarification from the hon. Home Minister is, we have learn) from the newspapers that some negotiations were advancing with the ultras in order to get release of the remaining hos tages. We have also read that thev have demanded release of certain TADA de tenus who are being lodge in Meghyalay: and Nagaland. The Government on Assam has rejected their demands on the plea that they are being charged with certain heinous crimes. My submissior is, when 500 detenues were released fror different jails, some of them were facin very serious charges of heinous crimes

If they could be released, why not you release the remaining ones also in order to get release of the hostages.

Now 1 have u few more questions to ask. The Chief Minister of Assam had declared a general amnesty to the ultras and as a result of which, about 400 detenus were released. Did the Chief Minister have consultations with the Central Government prior to his declaration of the so-called general amnesty? It was only a limited amnesty, not a general amnesty. If it was a general amnesty, then the entire number of detenus should have been released. That is why I want to know whether the Central Government was aware of this so-called general amnesty before it was announced.

My next question is about Bipul Mohunta. I am sorry to say that his position is not yet clear. Many things have been said about him. My question is whether this man Bipul Mohunta was on the payrole of the Assam Government; whethe$_r$ his name was there on the pay-role of the State Government of Assam, whether this man was sent by the Centre in order to negotiate with the ULFA and the Government of Assam.

My next question is, we had a simple discussion with the hon. Home Minister along with MPs from Assam. Nothing was discussed about deployment of army in Assam that morning. But afterwards, the Home Minister consulted the M.Ps. individually. I want to know whether in that discussion, any* MP had suggested deployment of army in Assam. The Minister should clarify it.

The Chief Minister of Assam had made a serious allegation on the floor of the House that ultras have got links with Bangladesh, Pakistan and China and afterwards, these three countries have denied categorically of having any connection! with the ultras of Assam. What has the Central Government got to say on this subject now? What is the information available with the Government of India in regard to connections with these neighbouring countries?

My next question is, it is said that army has been deployed in order to aid the civil authorities. What is the type of aid; whether civil authorities are accompanying the excesses are not committed by the army?

My last question is, when can we expect army will be withdrawn from Assam, and what is the present fat$_e$ of the hostages, whether they are alive or have been executed? Thank you.

SHRI GURUDAS DAs GUPTA (West Bengal): Frankly speaking I do not know if the call-out of the army in Assam has been justified or unjustified, I do not know. But on$_e$ thing I know for certain is that the situation in Assam is extremely explosive. The other day we diseussed in the House the abduction of a number of leading officers of the ONGC and subsequently the murder of some of them, and a number of hostages held by them.

It is true that there is a sense of anger in the minds of the people of Assam. If you speak of Bengal, we also have the same feeling that West Bengal is being neglected by the successive Governments that hold power in Delhi. But to have a sense of anger and to take to the path of terrorism, as is being done in some parts of the country, and also in Assam, is quite different. Democracy can function in this country if only the rules of the game a^{r}e observed. But if somebody takes to arms under the plea that he is being neglected by the Government in Delhi, the situation may turn different. This is the case in Assam. Assam is a State where there is a strong minovity and a linguistic minority. Therefore, it is time for all the political parties, whether in Assam or in Punjab or in any other part of the country, to seriously ponder about the method that is being taken to, under the slogan, that this part or that part of the country is neglected or not neglected. But I believe one thing, that the democratic process should be made to function and there is no question' of not discussing even with the ULFA insurgents. The Government should discuss with them because they are part of our country. We must discuss with them even while taking hard decisions to put down lawlessness in Assam, and to ensure that peace is not destroyed. We are in fnvour

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

of holding a dialogue with the representatives of the movement, knows as ULFA. I am for that But at the same time, there is no denying the truth that hardest decisions will have to be taken to preserve the unity of the country and also to ensure that peace and ttan-quaillity prevails and common people are not murdered in the way it is being done. At the same time, I say that this statement falls short.. .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please seek your clarifications.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am seeking my clarifications. Here, it is stated that the ULFA is having links with Bangladesh, Pakistan and China. Most conspicuously, the name of Burma has been omitted. It is in Burma that there is a military junta rule, and there is reason to believe that the military junta Government of Burma has set up a number of training camps and they are also in nv> mood to see that India lives in peace. Therefore, do not say that it is only China, Bangladesh or Pakistan. To me, the most important country which has been working as the pringboard for launching terrorism in. that part of the conn-try, including Assam, is the country of Burma. For that, I do not accuse the people of Burma, but it is the military rulers, dictatorial rulers, who are responsible for this. Why this country has been left out? Firstly, I would like to seek clarification from the Home Minister whether he is aware that there have been serious complaints about the involvement of, military Junta Government of Burma, in this lawlessness in Assam. Secondly, T would like to know, whatever may be the hardest decisions taken, whether the Government of India would like to hold discussions with the representatives of the ULFA to bring about a settlement there. Thirdly. I would like to know as to what steps the Government is going to take to ensure that, military which has been de-ployed there is not accused of committing excesses. What are the steps to restrain them? Fourthly, I do not say that ths elected Government of Assam should bf dismissed. That is not the way to solve the problem. But what are the steps thi Government of India would like to tak to ensure that the Government of Assam behaves in a different way? The problen that has been created in Assam is not onl> a problem of insurgency. It is also a problem of (he non-functioning and malfur tioning of the Government of Assam There are different groups which are fighi ing with each other. There are different links that the groupsmaintain with diffe rent political quarters. There are feasor to believe that there are people even in the ruling party who have links with the ULFA. Therefore, the situation in Assai is not only a situation of insurgency. I is also a problem of the non-functionlr of an elected Government My fours question, therefore, is, whether the Gov ernment of India is going to ensure tha the elected Government which is now i office in Assam functions in the way i should?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आसाम के मुख्य मंत्री और केन्द्र के गृह मंत्री के वक्तव्यों में अंतर्द्वन्द दिखाई देता है । समाचार पत्रों में छपा है कि उनकी इच्छा के विरुद्ध, यहां तक कि जानकारी के विपरीत सेना भेजी गई है । गृह मंत्री ने अपने वक्तव्य में दिन बताए हैं और पत्र भी बताए हैं तथा समाचार का भी उल्लेख किया है । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि कौनसी बात सच है ? यदि सच यह है जो गृह मंत्री ने कहा है और मैं आशा करता हूं कि सच है तो क्या कारण था कि मुख्य मंत्री खुले आम केन्द्रीय सरकार के विरोध में वक्तव्य दे रहे हैं ? क्या इसके पीछे कोई ऐसी चीज तो नहीं है जिसके कारण से यह संदेह होता है कि वहां के सत्तारूढ़ दल के ही कुछ लोग आतंकवादियों के साथ सहमत हैं, सहयोगी हैं । हमने गलती की थी, मुझे अकस्मात् एक शेर याद आ गया है—

पड़ा था हल्फ से कदम राहे शौक में,
मंजिल तमाम उम्र मुझे ढूंढती रही ।

एक गलती हमने कश्मीर में की थी जिस समय उस समय के गृह मंत्री की पुत्री को उठा कर ले गये थे । हमारी सरका

ने सरेंडर कर दिया था । उसके बाद से आए दिन पंजाब में, कश्मीर में, जगह जगह पर हमारे अधिकारी, नेता, आम आदमी उठा लिये जाते हैं और सरकार को मजबूर होकर उनके लोगों को छोड़ना पड़ता है । जिन लोगों को छोड़ते हैं वह टेररिस्ट हैं । एक आदमी के कारण 10 छोड़ने पड़ रहे हैं । तो पुलिस का सेना का काम जितना वह हासिल करते हैं, एक झटके में समाप्त हो जाता है । मेरा आग्रह गृह मंत्री जी से यह है कि आपने कदम उठाया है, मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या कारण दिये थे मुख्य मंत्री ने कि यहां पर सेना भेजी जाए, किस उद्देश्य से भेजी जाए । विदेशों की तरफ से बंगलादेश से अथवा बर्मा से अथवा चीन से कोई लोग इनफिल्ट्रेट कर के आ रहे हैं? जैसे पंजाब में है, कश्मीर में है कि पाकिस्तान ट्रेंड कर के आतंकवादियों को भेजता है । इस प्रकार का उल्लेख क्या मुख्य मंत्री ने अपने वक्तव्य में या फोन पर या पत्र में किसी प्रकार से किया है या नहीं किया है ? जब पिछली बार यह सवाल उठा था, मझे स्मरण है, मैं दक्षिण में त्रिवेन्द्रम में था, वहां मैंने समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ा कि बंगलादेश के साथ सरकार इस विषय में बातचीत करेगी । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या आपने बातचीत की है या नहीं की है ? मेरा कहना यह है कि दक्षिण से लेकर पूर्व तक और पूर्व से लेकर उत्तर तक, राजस्थान की सीमा तक यहां जो आतंकवाद पनप रहा है, यह कोई छुटपुट घटनाएं नहीं हैं । इसके पीछे कहीं न कहीं एक हाथ है । मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूं कि बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, आन्ध्र प्रदेश, तमिलनाडु, आसाम, जम्मू-कश्मीर और गंगानगर तक जहां जहां आतंकवाद की जड़ें फैल रही हैं, क्या सब को एक रूप में देखा है ? मेरा आग्रह है और मैं मांग करूंगा कि सरकार इन सबको एक रूप में देखे । आज एक तरह का रिवाज हो गया है । आतंकवादियों और हमारी सेनाओं को समकक्ष खड़ा कर दिया जाता है । यह कुछ रिवाज हो गया है । राजनीति के खिलाड़ी अपने अपने प्वाइंट किसी न किसी तरह से जीतने के लिए सम्पर्क खड़ा कर लेते हैं । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि पुलिस या सेना गलती नहीं करती होगी, गलती कर सकती लेकिन जब राजनीतिज्ञ खड़े हो जाते हैं या एमनेस्टी के नाम पर दुनिया खड़ग हो जाती है, जब हमारी सेनाओं को लोग दोषी ठहराते हैं तो मुझे लज्जा आती है । सेना या पुलिस जो कि देश की रक्षा के लिए खड़ी है उनकी ज्यादती हो सकती है लेकिन उन्हें कभी भी आतंकवादियों के स य समकक्ष खड़ा नहीं किया जाना 7.00 P.M. चाहिये । मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या आपने यह निश्चय किया है कि अब कदम पीछे नहीं हटाएंगे ? दोनों बातें सही हैं । क्या "उल्फा" के किसी क्षेत्र से आपके पास या प्रदेश सरकार के पास इस तरह से मांग आई है कि हम ये ये चाहते हैं ? यदि वे कुछ मांग रखते हैं तो उस पर चर्चा होनी चाहिए । सब चाहते हैं । हमारे पास मिजोरम का उदाहरण है । बरसों बरसों तक संघर्ष होता रहा लेकिन जब मिजोरम के नेताओं ने घुटने टेक दिये, शस्त्र छोड़ दिये तो उस समय समझौता कर लिया । इसी प्रकार से समझौते के लिए जो कदम आपने उठाया है उसको पीछे न हटाइये और जो मैंने सवाल पूछा है कि मुख्य मंत्री ने क्यों, किन कारणों से, क्या आधार बताकर आपसे मांग की थी, इसका जवाब दें ।

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the circumstances which have been reported by the Home Minister in Jhis statement do not really reveal anything new. To startling revelations are there and perhaps all the facts have not been stated. Perhaps it is report on the deployment of army in Assam in the back ground of the killing of an officer of the ONGC, confinement of 4 of their fitfaer officers by the ULFA, and indefinite strike by the ONGC employees Which perhaps continues unabated because they say that unless the ONGC officials are released they are not able to put an end to their strike. It is in this background totally that the ctatement has been made by the Home Minister. He has taken the House into confidence, but the question relates to the deployment of army. His

[Shri Sourendra Bhattacharjee]

colleague of the same State, after becom-ing the Defence Minister, has repeatedly gone on record to say that in civil administration it is better not to involve army in Assam. In earlier episodes of deployment of army, there have been numerous instances of violation of human rights, of human dignity, abuses and tortures which should not be perpetrated by an army of a civilized country. It is in this background that the Assam situation is sufficiently bad. But we should take into account the reaction of the present Chief 'Minister, Mr. Hiteshwar Saikia, Mr. Saikia is not new in Assam politics. He is a seasoned head. He was the Home Minister of Assam and earned either praise or notoriety as the Home Minister in the days of the Chief Ministership of , Shri Sharat Chandra Sinha. He is known to be a very shrewd person. And what did he do this time, immediately after becoming the Chief Minister? There was certain declaration, even false hope, that some understanding with ULFA was possible. Some general amnesty was declared by him. But later on it was found that it 'Was not so general and then all the conditions were not cleared. So, my questions to the Home Minister in this connection would be; (1) How is this re-preated deployment of army in Assam in consonance with the opinion expressed by the Defence Minister, who is directly res-ponsible for the army? No. 2: Hinder what preception did Mr, Hiteshwar Saikia take the steps that he took? Did he like to create some electrifying effect of his presence after quite some time as the Chief Minister of the State or else, was it not taken on a very unsure foundation?—that is^ the step of teleasing the ULFA terrorists without arily •promise on the part of ULFA to release flny of the hostages. Now it seems that -- everyone else who is still in the custody -. of ULFA may be in danger of death.

Now the question of national economy has - been integrated into this. The ONGC —' employees continue their strike. Would. the Home Minister say whether there has been any possible break-through or whether the worsening situation would make their future bluak? Now that an intervention has been made, there is hardly anything hopeful to expect.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri Md. Salim. Please take three minutes—not more than that.

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हम सारा दिन गृह मंत्री के बयान के लिए बैठे रहे और इस बयान में ऐसा एक शब्द भी नहीं है जो आज की तारीख में लिये हुए तथ्यों के आधार पर लिखा गया हो । गृह मंत्री ने इतिहास बताया है, जैसा कि हमारे साथी श्री भद्रेश्वर बूरागोहाइं के सवाल से मालूम हुआ कि वह इतिहास भी सही ढंग से नहीं लिखा गया है । लेकिन ग्यारह बजे गृह राज्य मंत्री ने कहा था कि वह तथ्य ला करके, समेट करके बयान देंगे । इसमें पिछले दो रोज से जिसके बारे में पूरे देश के लोग, हम सदस्य ही नहीं, जानकारी के लिए आस लगाये बैठे हैं, ऐसी कोई जानकारी इसमें नहीं है और जो बातें कही गई हैं, वह भी इतिहास के बारे में स्पेसिफिक नहीं हैं । यहां साफ्ट या हाई आप्शंस——इसके बारे में मैं बहस में नहीं जाना चाहता ।

मैं आखिर में बोल रहा हूं । बहुत से लोग बोल चुके हैं, लेकिन इस बयान में बहुत साफ्ट तरीके से बयान किया गया है । अखबार में जैसे क्रैक-डाउन या आपरेशन, आर्मी को उतारने की बात कही गई, यहां कहा गया है कि सिविल अथारिटीज को मदद पहुंचाने के लिए, सहायता देने के लिए आर्मी भेजी गई है, बल्कि जरूरत थी । कारण यह दिखाया गया है कि सिविल अथारिटी को जरूरत थी । कानून की बहाली के लिए अगर बल की जरूरत थी, तो वह पैरा-मिलिटरी फोर्स भी भेज सकते थे, आर्मी की जरूरत किसलिए पड़ी ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हम सदन को यहां जरा गंभीरता से लें। किस वक्त आर्मी भेजी गई, किस तारीख को गई, इसका यहां कुछ बयान नहीं है । पांच

[श्री मोहम्मद सलीम]

तारीख से यह सलाह-मशविरा चल रहा था और हमारे दूसरे साथी यह कह चुके हैं । फिर भी यह स्पष्ट होना चाहिए ।

बयान में कहा गया है कि एम. पीज. लोगों को वह इंडिविजुअली और क्लेक्टिवली बातें किये हैं, लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि उनकी बातचीत के आधार पर ऐसा कदम लिया गया, इस तरह से उस सेंटेंस को प्लेस किया गया है । लेकिन क्या यह मशविरा दिया गया था, इस बारे में कोई राय यहां नहीं है । या मुख्य मंत्री ने गोहाटी में तमाम पार्टियों को लेकर के जो मीटिंग की, वहां से यह मशविरा निकला था, इस बारे में भी कोई बात नहीं है । (समय की घंटी)

मेरा जो सवाल है वह यह है कि—— मैं स्टेटमेंट में जिस तरह से कहा गया है——यह सवा दो पन्नों में——और जो इसके बारे में स्पष्ट होना चाहिए, इतनी बातचीत के बावजूद, मैं वह स्पष्टीकरण मांग रहा हूं ।

पैराग्राफ नं. तीन में कहा गया है कि जेनरस जेस्चर था, 500 उग्रवादियों को छोड़ दिया । तो इस उदार नीति का कारण क्या था, असेसमेंट क्या था असम सरकार का, जो सीज-फायर तीन महीने से कर रही थी ?

उसके बाद जब 30 जून को असम मंत्री सभा बनी, उसके बाद हमने जो छोड़ना शरू किया, तो सिगनल था हमारे सामने, स्पष्ट था 30 जून को असम में सरकार बनी और चौदह लोगों को वह दूसरे रोज उठा कर चले गये । उसके बाद एक के बाद एक छोड़ना शुरू किया । हमारे इधर पंजाब में या कश्मीर में या आंध्र प्रदेश में जो रेशो चल रहा है, उसके मुताबिक वहां एक्सचेंज रेशो जरा बढ़ा है——24:3, लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी हमने जेनरस जेस्चर लिया, अखबारों में आया, बयान में यह नहीं है कि मुख्य मंत्री ने जनरल अमनेस्टी डेक्लेयर की थी । तो क्या यह जेनरल एमनेस्टी के तहत या पिक एंड चूज करके 500 को छोड़ा गया, जैसे हमारे दूसरे साथियों ने यह कहा, तो फिर हम जो होस्टेजेज थे उनको रिलीज करने के लिए अगर पिक एंड चूज करना था, सभी उग्रवादी थे, सब के विरोध में जरूर जब टाडा में पकड़े गए थे तो स्पेसिफिक उनके पीछे कुछ कारण था तो हम जब 500 को छोड़ें तो हम 24:3 की रेशो में छोड़ करके हमारे जो मारे गए राजू या महंती जो पकड़े हुए हैं उनके बारे में कौन जिम्मेदारी लेगा ?

हमारा आखिरी सवाल यह है कि आखिरी पैरा में दो पन्ने के स्टेटमेंट में मंत्री महोदय सदन को कोई आश्वासन नहीं दे पाए हैं, जो आर्मी नहीं भेज करके हम कर सकते थे वह प्रार्थना किए हैं हम आखिर में कि, "उसे रिहा कर दिया जाएगा, हम यह विश्वास करते हैं" हम वहां जो तरीका अपनाए हैं उसके जरिए क्या यह आश्वासन देते हैं कि चलो, उनका क्या होगा जो पकड़े गए हैं, जिनके घर में मां, बच्चा और बीबी रो रहे हैं, उनको हम छुड़वाकर ले आयेंगे, ऐसा आश्वासन क्यों नहीं देते या ऐसा आश्वासन देने का बंदोबस्त किए हैं, यह भी नहीं है ? अब भी हम प्रार्थना कर रहे हैं, हमारा विश्वास है कि वह छोड़ देंगे ? धन्यवाद ।

†(شری محمد سلیم (مغربی بنگال):

اپ سبھا ادھیکش جی - ہم سارا دن گرہ منتری کے بیان کیلئے بیٹھے رہے اور اس بیان میں ایسا ایک شبد بھی نہیں ہے جو آجکی تاریخ میں لئے ہوئے نتیجوں کے آدھار پر لکھا گیا ہو - گرہ منتری نے انبھاس بتایا ہے - جیسا کہ ہمارے ساتھی شری بھدریشور بورا گوہاٹی کے سوال سے یہ معلوم ہوا کہ وہ انبھاس بھی

† Transliteration in Arabic script.

وقت آرمی بھیجی گئی - کس
تاریخ کو گئی اسکا یہاں کچھ بیان
نہیں ہے- ۵ تاریخ سے یہ صلاح مشورہ
چل رہا تھا - اور ہمارے دوسرے
ساتھی کہہ چکے ہیں پھر بھی یہ
سپشٹ ہونا چاہئے -

بیان میں کہا گیا ہے کہ ایمرجینسی
لوگوں کو وہ انڈیویجولی اور کلیکٹیولی
باتیں کئے ہیں - لیکن ایسا لگتا
ہے انکی بات چیت کے آدھار پر
ویسا قدم اٹھایا گیا - اس طرح سے
اس سیٹیوئیشن کو پلیس کیا گیا
ہے لیکن کیا یہ مشورہ دیا گیا تھا
اس بارے میں کوئی رائے یہاں
نہیں ہے- یا مکھیہ منتری نے گوہاٹی
میں تمام پارٹیوں کو لیکر کے جو
میٹنگ کی وہاں سے یہ مشورہ نکلا
تھا - اس بارے میں بھی کوئی
بات نہیں ہے ..(وقت کی گھنٹی)..

میرا جو سوال ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ -
میں اسٹیٹمنٹ میں جس طرح سے
کہا گیا ہے - یہ سوا دو پنوں میں-
اور اسکے بارے میں سپشٹ ہونا
چاہئے - اتنی بات چیت کے باوجود
میں وہ سپشٹیکرن مانگ رہا ہوں -

پیراگراف نمبر تین میں - کہا
گیا ہے کہ جینرس چیچر تھا- ۵۰۰
گرواديوں کو چھوڑ دیا گیا - اس
صحیح ڈھنگ سے نہیں لکھا گیا ہے
لیکن گیارہ بجے گرہ راجیہ منتری نے کہا
تھا کہ وہ تتھیہ اکٹھے کرکے سہیت کرکے
بیان دینگے - اسمیں پچھلے دو روز
سے جسکے بارے میں پورے دیش کے
لوگ ہم سدسیہ ہی نہیں جانکاری
کیلئے آس لگائے بیٹھے ہیں - ایسی
کوئی جانکاری اسمیں نہیں ہیں اور
جو باتیں کہی گئی ہیں - وہ بھی
اتہاس کے بارے میں اسپیسیفک
نہیں ہیں - یہاں سافٹ یا ہارڈ
آبشنس - اسکے بارے میں میں
بحث میں نہیں جانا چاہتا -

میں آخر میں بول رہا ہوں -
بہت سے لوگ بول چکے ہیں -
لیکن اس بیان میں بہت سافٹ
طریقہ سے بیان کیا گیا ہے اخبار
میں جیسے کریک ڈاؤن یا آپریشن
آرمی کو اتارنے کی بات کہی گئی -
یہاں کہا گیا ہے کہ سول اتھارٹیز
کو مدد پہنچانے کے لئے سہائتا
دینے کیلئے آرمی بھیجی گئی ہے -
بلکہ ضرورت تھی - کارن یہ دیکھا گیا
ہے کہ سول اتھارٹیز کو بلکہ ضرورت
تھی - قانون کی بحالی کے لئے اگر
بل کی ضرورت تھی تو وہ پیرا
ملٹری فورس بھی بھیج سکتے تھے -
آرمی کی ضرورت کس لئے پڑی -

دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ ہم سدن
کو یہاں گمبھیرتا سے لیں - کس

پکڑے گئے تھے - تو اسپیسیفک ازکے پوچھے کچھ کارن تھا تو ہم جب پانچسو کو چھوڑیں تو ہم ۲۴:۳ کی ریشو میں چھوڑ کرکے ہمارے جو مارے گئے راجو یا مہلتی جو پکڑے ہوئے ہیں ان کے بارے میں کون ذمہداری لے گا -

ہمارا آخری سوال یہ ہے کہ آخری پھرا میں دو پلے کے اسٹیٹمنٹ میں منتری مہودے سدن کو کوئی آشواسن نہیں دے پائے ہیں - جو آرمی نہیں بھیج کرکے ہم کر سکتے تھے - وہ پراوتنا کئے ہیں - ہم آخر میں کہ داسے رہا کر دیا جائیگا- ہم یہ وشواس کرتے ہیں-؟؟ ہم وہاں جو طریقہ اپنائے ہیں - اس کے دریہ۔ کیا یہ آشواسن دیتے ہیں کہ چلو - انکا کیا ہوگا جو پکڑے گئے ہیں - جن کے گھر میں ماں بچہ اور بیوی رو رہی ہیں - انکو ہم چھوڑوا کر لے آئیں گے - ایسا آشواسن کیوں نہیں دیتے - یا ایسا آشواسن دینے کا بندوبست کئے ہیں - یہ بھی نہیں ہے - اب بھی نہیں ہے - اب بھی ہم پراوتنا کر رہے ہمارا وشواس ہے کہ وہ چھوڑ دیں گے - دھنیہ وَد -]

ادار نیتی کا کارن کیا تھا- اسیسمنٹ کیا تھا - اسام سرکار کا - جو سیز فایو تین مہینے سے کر رہی تھی -

اس کے بعد جب تیس جون کو آسام منتری سبھا بنی - اس کے بعد ہم نے جو چھوڑنا شروع کیا - جو سکنل تھا ہمارے سامنے- سپشٹ تھا تیس جون کو آسام میں سرکار بنی اور چودہ لوگوں کو وہ دوسرے روز اٹھاکر چلے گئے - اس کے بعد ایک کے بعد ایک چھوڑنا شروع کیا - ہمارے ادھر پنجاب میں یا کشمیر میں یا آندھرا پردیش میں جو ریشو چل رہا ہے - اسکے مطابق وہاں ایکسچینج ریشو ذرا بڑھا ہے - ۲۴:۳ لیکن اسکے باوجود بھی ہم نے جنرس جیسچر لیا - اخباروں میں آیا بیان میں یہ نہیں ہے کہ مکھیہ منتری نے جنرل ایمنیسٹی ڈیکلیئر کی تھی - تو کیا یہ جنرل ایمنیسٹی کے تحت کیا بک ایلڈ چوز کرکے پانسو کو چھوڑا گیا جیسے ہمارے دوسرے ساتھیوں نے یہ کہا تو پھر ہم جو ہوسٹیجیز تھے انکو رہاؤ کرنے کے لئے اگر بک ایلڈ چوز کرنا تھا سبھی اکروادی تھے - سب کے ورودھ میں - ضرور جب تاڈا میں

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह (बिहार) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे सामने जो गृह मंत्री महोदय का बयान है उसमें साफ शब्दों में लिखा गया है कि 8 सितम्बर, 1991 को मुझे भेजे गए पत्र में मुख्य मंत्री ने यह अनुरोध किया था कि सिविल पदाधिकारियों की सहायता के लिए सेना की तत्काल तैनाती के लिए अनुदेश जारी किए जाएं । मुख्य मंत्री का जो अखबार में समाचार आया है उसके अनुसार है कि वे इसके पक्ष में नहीं हैं । मैं गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि इसमें सच क्या है और झूठ क्या है ? अगर सच और झूठ असंसदीय शब्द हों, तब जानना चाहूंगा कि गलत क्या है और सही क्या है ? दूसरी बात यह है कि जहां लोकप्रिय सरकार बनती है, आसाम में चुनाव हुआ । चुनाव के बाद हितेश्वर सैकिया की लोकप्रिय सरकार बनी । लोकप्रिय सरकार जहां गठित हो जाए वहां, वहां की सरकार अपना काम-काज करती है । सेना भेजने की बात वैसी स्थिति में पैदा होती है जबकि वहां की विधि व्यवस्था बिल्कुल खराब हो जाए और प्रांतीय सरकार से वह न संभल सके । मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा कि यदि आसाम की हालत बहुत बदतर है जो कि वहां की प्रांतीय सरकार उसे कंट्रोल नहीं कर सकती तो क्यों नहीं उसे बर्खास्त करके यह राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करते हैं और केन्द्र के अधीन ही रहकर उसका संचालन करते हैं ?

नंबर तीन, गृह मंत्री महोदय से मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि यदि आसाम में चुनाव के बावजूद भी स्थिति खराब होने पर आप सेना भेजी सकते हैं तब फिर पंजाब में चुनाव कराने की घोषणा क्यों नहीं करते ? अगर चुनाव के बाद भी स्थिति खराब होगी तो सेना भेजी जा सकती है । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने पुराने मित्र श्री दिनेश गोस्वामी को स्मरण कर रहा हूं जो इस सदन के एक बड़े ही सम्मानित सदस्य थे । दिनेश गोस्वामी प्राय: यह कहा करते मैं और जब उन्होंने यहां भाषण दिया, उन्होंने केन्द्र सरकार पर यह बराबर आरोप लगाया कि केन्द्र सरकार आसाम समस्या को सुलझाने का कभी प्रयास नहीं करती है, बराबर उलझा कर रखना चाहती है । अत: मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से साफ शब्दों में जानना चाहूंगा कि वह यह बताएं कि यदि वहां की स्थिति वहां की सरकार से नहीं संभलती है तो राष्ट्रपति शासन क्यों नहीं लगाया जाता है और अगर वहां की सरकार सक्षम है तब फिर सेना क्यों भेजी जाती है ? यह भी मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि वहां 23 जिले हैं, 23 में से आपने 9 जिलों को सेना के हवाले कर दिया है, क्या शेष जिलों में भी आप सेना भेजने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं या मात्र 9 जिलों तक ही सेना की टुकड़ियां रहेंगी ?

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA (Assam): The problem of ULFA has been raised in this House time and again over the last few years. During the late 80s, this problem had assumed grave proportions where it needed some strong action. The strong action was taken and it had given good results. As jyoti know during the President's Rule the problem seemed to have caused. At the same time as a result of this action and as a result of political action taken by all political parties in Assam, the situation took some favourable turn. Because of this, the extremist organisation had extended some goodwill overtures like not interfering in the election process and cease-fire in the killings. Elections were held peacefully in that State and a popular Government; has now come into being. Immediately after the Government took over, some fourteen hostages were taken away by the ULFA. The State Government without taking it up as a challenge started with goodwill measures just to tell them that the Government was prepared for negotiations. If it is a political pro blem, it can be solved only through a dialogue, not by bullets. As everybody knows, almost every alternate day in this House the issue was raised that killings are again on the increase and that extortions arc rising and it had come to a stage where some action was needed. As you know we all agreed that some action had to be taken, either soft or strong. The State Government started with soft measures and failed. As a result it attracted

strong measures. So, (he Central Government, on request of state Government, has come out with strong measure so that an atmosphere of peace is created.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA); Seek your clarifications.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): He is preparing the ground.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA)- Ground is known to everybody.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: I am only telling the Members of Opposition of my State that it is a political problem, not a law and order problem. A political problem can be solved by entering into a dialogue with that organisation.

iM'y question to the hon Minister is whether some negotiations were started during the late 80s between the Government and the extremist organisation and what are the details of those negotiations?

It is a matter of concern for everybody, particularly the civilians, who do not like the deployment of military until and unless there is a situation like this; the deployment of military for a long time becomes counter-productive. I want to know from the hon. Minister whether this deployment of army is for a limited period or not. The Indian army is known for its good name 'and has a respect in the Indian society. I want to know whether the Home Minister is going to assure that the good name of the Indian army will not be allowed to be denigrated and no excesses will be committed on the civilians.

The third point is for meeting the ends of justice. T would like to know whether the Government would constitute a designated courts in every district where army action is taken.

KUIMART CHANDRIKA PR EM JI KENTA (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chair-imn. ULFA terrorists have been indulging in violent activities like extortions, kid-mppinigs, assaults and murders. As a matter of fact. ULFA terrorists are running *n* parallel Government in Assam. They have taken the law into their own ihands- They are interfering in the day-to-day affairs of the ordinary citizens of Assam. There is no semblance of governance there in Assam either during the present Government or the earlier Governments.

The Chief Minister of Assam has been sending SOS to the Central Government saying that the situation is very grave and the law and order situation has worsened. In the last paragraph $_0$f the Minister's statement it is said that the Chief Minister has also suggested that the ULFA terrorists are having links with Bangladesh, Pakistan and China. On the one hand the Chief Minister has said that the situation in Assam is very grave and on the other hary in paragraph 3 of the Minister's statement it is said that 500 ULFA terrorist were released. There ULFA terrorists wese detained under the TADA. That means they must have committed some serious offences of crime. That is the reason why they were detained under the TADA. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister: why these 500 ULFA†. May I know from the Minister whether the Central Government was consulted by the State Government of Assam before releasing 500 ULFA terrorists. The ULFA activists have been pressurising the Government to release more detenus who have committed serious crimes. Will the hon. Home Minister assure the House that care will be taken not to release ULFA terrorists henceforth? That is my first question.

The second question pertains to the deployment of Armed Forces. Paragraph 4 of the Minister's statement deals with the situation and the reasons why the Armed forces were deployed in Assam. The reasons given by the Minister do not seem to be very convincing. As suggested by the other Members here if Assam problem is a political problem, we have to find a political solution to this problem. The only substantial of material' available with the Central Government is the information furnished by the Chief Minister and the latest letter written by him to the Central Government. Itis also stated that the hon. Home Minister and consultations with MPs from different parties, individually and collectively. T would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether any independent assessment was made by the Central Government

[Kumari Chandrika Premji Kenia] before the Army was deployed in Assam. My next question is: How long the Army will continue to operate in Assam?

In paragraph 6 of the statement, it is said that the ULFA activists are having links with Bangladesh, Pakistan and China. I think there is a conspiracy to destabilise this country. I would like to know from the Minister what sort of help the ULFA activists are getting from Bangladesh. Pakistan and China. May I "mow from the Minister whether there are any training camps being run by the neighbouring countries to train the ULFA terrorists?

Finally in the last paragraph, no positive assurance has been given by the hon. Minister to the effect that the remaining hostages will be released. When you are taking drastic aciton by deploying the Army , at least positive assurance should have been given by the Government that the remaining hostages who are under the detention of the ULFA activists for quite sometime, will he released soon,

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN); Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir. at the outset, I would like to clarify two very important points which have been made by the hon. Members. Some of the Members have asked; how is it that in the statement we are saving that it is at the instance of the Assam Government the Army has been sent for the assistance of the civil authorities and on the other hand, some of the newspapers seem to report that the Chief Minister of Assam has totally denied that he has made any such request? I have contacted the Chief Minister this afternoon in order to find out the authenticity of the statement which has been attributed to him in some of the newspapers. And he gave me to understand that it was a totally baseless kind of a statement which had come in his name and he had called a press conference to clarify the whole position.

I have the entire information right from the 5th of September to this date The first wireless message was received by the Central Government on the 5th. On the 8th. the Assam Chief Minister wrote to me a DO. letter. And the army was deployed between the 14th and tht 15th. That means, after the midnight of the 14th, the army was sent there for the assistance of the civil authorities. I should say that this will clarify the whole position so far as this aspect is concerned.

The second point which was made is, the hon. Defence Minister is on record to say that as far as possible, the army should not be used where it is the primary responsibility of the police. I am in full agreement with what he has stated. But there are situations in which the army has to be deployed. And, without any fear of contradiction, I can inform the House that when this D.O. letter was received by me, it was referred to the Defence Ministry. The Defence Minister, though he was outside Delhi then, after he came back, had a meeting with his officers and also with the Home Ministry. Thereafter, after full consultations, this decision was taken. So. kindlv do not have any kind of misunderstandings that it did not have the approval of the Defence Minister.

Thereafter we have to see as to how we can possibly improve the situation and see that normalcy is restored at the earliest in Assam. There is no denying the fact that a large number of activities were indulged in by the ULFA and they had gone beyond the limit. The Chief Minister tried his level best sometimes at the cost of being misunderstood by the Central Government that he was releasing people unnecessarily. He had to explain at great length to us that the situation demanded that he should release some people and he was sure that he would get a positive response from the ULFA. Bui thereafter, when he saw that people were not released and unilaterally he released about 500 of them. he realised that unilateral action had not gat any positive, response from them; on the other hand, even those people who were sent for mediation were killed. Ultimately, he had to take a very hard decision. He requested the Government of India saying, "Now, I have tried my level best by even releasing the people of whom you can possibly say that I was not perfectly justified. But in spite of that when I find that they are very firm and they would not like to relent.

I have hardly any option left." And that is why he approached the Government of India saying that he would like to get assistance from the army. In the beginning, he tried to get para-military forces. Some forces were also sent. But there is a limit after which we cannot possibly think of sending para-military forces also. Para-military forces 'have been deployed all over the country and it was very difficult to say to any other State that they should release their para-military forces in order to he deployed in Assam. So, there was no alternative hut to send the stray for their assistance.

Sir. a point was also raised as to whether the Government had thought in terms of getting released the hostages that they were holding. In fact, this was the very purpose for which he had been trying his level best. When the Russian engineer was killed, he tried his level best to see that his life is also saved. Again, another person, who in fact, was trying to mediate, was also killed and thereafter, he got an ultimatum saying (hat if within such and such date and by this time, you do not release rest of the people, then, of course, all the hostages are going to be killed. If that is the ultimatum which the Government pets, I think, under these circumstances, he had hardly any other choice. I cannot, possibly say that after sending the Army, nothing is going to happen to the hostages. Ultimately, they will try their level best to ensure their release. It will be their resoonsibility to see that law and order is maintained and all hostage, if they are with them, are released. But how far they are going to succeed is a matter about which I cannot at this stage inform the House.

What activities the Army has under taken after its deployment in Assam'! My information is the Army have been able to apprehend about 51 ULFA activists out of whom 21 are said to be hardcore terrorists. Three camps were raided and they have found that these camps were deserted. Thereafter, they have been trying to spread in different areas. Before taking this action, I must inform the House that the entire State of Assam stands declared as a disturbed area under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958. There are eight-nine districts which have been enumerated in my statement. These are all disturbed districts. So the Army will be able to take further action in the matter. In order to see that the innocent people do not suffer and their legitimate grievances are being attended to, there is a sub-Committee which has been constituted at the district level. There is a Coordination Committee at the State level also. They will go into all these matters. But at the same time, I will have to say that we will try to see that the Army personnel should be given a free hand. We cannot possibly put pressure on them. *'do this or don't do that." If we try to interfere in their working, it becomes very difficult. They will try to assist the civil authorities. All right. For taking every decision, they will definitely be assisted by the civil authorities. But at the same time, if we try to interfere in their working, then it becomes very difficult. If there are any cases where the harassment has taken place, certainly we will try to see that immediately they are informed that Kiev should not indulge in this kind of activities which bring a bad name to the Army personnel. What happened last is something about which I cannot possibly give any explanation. But we hope that under the circumstances in which they are working, it is entirely for the Army and the civil authorities at the district level to take whatever appropriate action is called for so that it sends a proper message to all those who are concerned. One of the hon. Members was saying that the person who was killed was an employee or he was being employed by the Government of Assam. He seems to know more about these people. I believe. Since he has made this chaige that he was a person who was acting on behalf of the Government of Assam and he was being employed as a kind of informer by the Government of Assam for getting the information I won't be able to say anything about this whether he was put as an informer or was there for any other purpose. Whatever little I know about the personnel. Mr. Mohunta was having

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

some connection with the Amnesty International and he was doing service for[1] the humanity, going to those people, trying to explain to them as to what is the point of view of the Government. It is not that all of a sudden we have come to this conclusion that Army should be deployed. There were valid reasons for doing the same and that is why I have stated all the facts that we had hardly any other choice. When I used the word "we", it means Assam Government had hardly any other choice than deploying the Army.

Now a point was made when some hon. Members asked me as to what the opinion given by individual M. Ps. was. I think it will be wrong on my part to divulge here on the floor of the House as to what opinion each M. P. gave me when they had met me individually. So you have to understand that taking the entire Situation into account everybody had something or other to say; I would not like to divulge anything on the floor of the House, but it was the decision not of the M. Ps. I can assure this much. Let not the M. Ps. fee] that unnecessarily their names have been dragged in, not the least. In fact, we are not interested in divulging anything and making them responsible for giving their opinion. It was our responsibility to consult all the M. Ps. from those areas. In fact, if I had the time. I would have also consulted other friends, but Somehow we were short of time; that is why only M.Ps. from those areas were consulted in the matter and it was the Government which took the decision and it was not at the instance of the M. Ps.; they were merely consulted.

Now, the hon. Member, Shri Shankar Dayal Singh, was trying to take some political advantage out of this by asking that if such a situation was prevailing in Assam, why we have not been applying article 356 and taking over the responsibility, dissolving the Assembly and having President's rule and why we have not been holding elections in Punjab, and that we can send the Army there also. On both the counts, I must say article 356 will be the last resort. We would not like to resort to that because ultimately if is the civil authorities who have got the right to ask for the assistance of the Army and this is not anything abnormal. This is the normal thing which they have resorted to so long as it is not handed over to the Army. It is not handed over to the Army, but the Army is going only for the assistance of the civil authorities and So long as we feel that they will be able to discharge their duties properly under the Constitution, there is no question of taking it over under article 356. So also, I do not know how an impression was created in the mind of the hon. Member that we are not going to have elections in Punjab...

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH: Tomorrow it will be clear, Sir.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN; Merely because the notification is proposed to be cancelled it does not necessarily mean that we are not going to have election ...*{interruptions)* ... I can assure the hon. Members that we definitely propose to have elections in Punjab at the earliest. We don't want to postpone the elections unless things.. •

PROF. SOURENDSA BHATTACHARJEE; By 2000 AD?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN; You need not wait for 2000 AD. It might be in a few months we will be able to hold elections in Punjab and have a popular Government because I believe that it is very necessary that we should have a popular Government in Punjab both in the interests of Punjab and in the interests of the country.

I would like to assure the hon. Member's one thing. So far as Assam is concerned, it was stated here that there was a feeling of neglect. I don't know in what context my colleague, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, has announced that the refinery is not going to be located in Assam. It might be that due to paucitv of resources the Government may not be able to set up the refinery, but it is our commitment. In the Accord this is one of the items which we have promised to them and that is why every, effort will be made to see that the refinery is located in Assam. We need not have this kind of apprehension. I would like to understand from you in what context it was made because I do not know whether he had made thig kind of statement. If it is

a question of whether the Government will be able to fund the entire amount, that might be a matter of dispute in a different manner. If private parties can possibly go over there and set up refineries in that area it can serve the same purpose. I do not think that on that ground you can have any doubt in your mind. Whatever we have accepted in the accord we propose to implement and for the first time we have also given 90 per cent as grant-in-aid to Assam and 10 per cent as loan. This was never the situation so far as Assam is concerned. So this was a special dispensation which was given to Assam in order to bring them into the mainstream and not to have this feeling of neglect. But at the same time, I would request the hon. Members to use their good offices to see that the activities like the ULFA and other terrorists organisations do not get any kind of encouragement from the local people. We have an indepedent report from one of the officers who was Specially sent to the find out as to how far the Chief Minister's statement that he was facing a Situation in which no option had been left is true. I must say that the officer has come back and Mr. Shankaranand had also gone there in a different context. He had also assessed the situation there. I must say that the officer gave a report that whatever assistance the Assam Chief Minister expects from the Central Government in the shape of deploying Army for fhe assistance of civil authorities is based on the situation as it is prevailing and so it will be incumbent on our part that in spjch a difficult situation we should assist the Chief Minister and see that normalcy is restored at the earliest in Assam. These are the few points which were raised by the hon. Members.

SHRI MANTAY PADMANABHAM: (Andhra Pradesh): What is going to be the fate of the hostages?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: As far as the hostages are concerned, I have clarified the position.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Mtr. Home Minister, apart from what you said, is the Government contemp • lating to take any initiative to get the release of the hostages?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: That is what we are trying and we expect that the Army will be able to have them released and see that all those ULFA boys who are keeping them in captivity are being apprehended. They are trying their level best, but I cannot possibly assure that these things are going to happen on this day or that day. That, of course, is a very tall promise that I will be making. It is our judgement that they will possibly succeed in doing that.

A point was also raised about some other countries. In fact, whatever I have stated in my statement is the statement which was recorded by the Assam Government at the instance of the people, who apprehended and who recorded their statement. It is not my statement. It is their statement which I have merely reported. One of the hon. Members has referred to Burma. But this is not the proper time when I should say anything against this government or 'that government. Bangladesh has also been help ing them. We know the position about Pakistan very well. But this is not the time to unnecessarily go on giving the names of the countries who are trying to help them. These are the facts which everybody must know in spite of the fact that they have denied them. All the Governments in those countries have denied them. But we know for certain that there are certain countries where camps are being run. Camps are being run and a number of things are happening. But this wiU not be the proper time for me to unnecessarily take the names of those countries and create problems for my colleague. That is why I would desist from this. I think these are the few points on which clarifications were sought by the hon. Members.

श्री सरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूं....

श्री एस० बी० चव्हाण : आप नहीं चाहेंगे, जो पहले पूछ रहे हैं वह चाहेंगे.. (व्यवधान)

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया]

मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि जो डिब्रूगढ़, जोरहाट, लखीमपुर इलाकों से जो पिछले एक महीने के अंदर माइग्रेशन हुआ है, सैकड़ों फैमिलीज घर छोड़कर कलकत्ता, राजस्थान और दिल्ली चली गई हैं, उनको वापस लाने की क्या व्यवस्था की गई है ?

श्री एस० बी० चव्हाण : उनके वापस जाने के लिए वातावरण अच्छा बनाना है, यही एक रास्ता है । जब तक उनके दिल के अंदर यह कांफिडेंस नहीं हो जाता कि अगर हम वापस जायेंगे तो हमारे जानमाल को खतरा नहीं होगा तब तक नहीं जायेंगे । ये हालात पैदा करने के लिए असम गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से जितनी कोशिश हो सकती थी पूरी कोशिश की । लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी जहां लोग किसी बात पर अड़ जाते हैं तो बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाता है । किसी ने हमसे पूछा कि इनकी क्या डिमांड है ? उनकी डिमांड यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान से अलग होना है । यह बात सब को पता है । इस काम के लिए अगर वह अपनी डिमांड हमारे सामने रखते हैं तो उनके साथ बातचीत कैसे की जाए । हिन्दुस्तान से अलग होने वाले जो भी आर्गेनइजेशन होंगे और जो वालयेंट एक्टीविटीज में विश्वास रखते हैं उनके साथ बातचीत का सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता । इसलिए मेरी आपसे दरखास्त है कि आप अपना गुड आफिस इस तरह से इस्तेमाल कीजिए जिससे लोगों के अंदर इसके बारे में कोई गलतफहमी पैदा न हो और लोग यह समझें कि हमारे ही फायदे के लिए आर्मी वहां डिप्लाए की गई है । हमारे ऊपर जबर्दस्ती करने के लिए या हमारे साथ बेइन्साफी करने के लिए इसको नहीं भेजा गया है ? ऐसा वातावरण बनाना आनरेबल मेम्बर्स का ही काम हो सकता है ।

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH: I only want to ask one question. Cha-van is not only the Home Minister, he is also the Leader of the House and he is conrerned about this august House. Therefore,- I want to know from the Leader of the House whether it is true that our honourable Finance Minister in the near future is going to be an Assamese, whether Assam is going to adopt our Finance Minister.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Very soon he will be abie to become an Assamese.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA CHARJEE: My most humble submission to the Home Minister is what he has stated in connection with the allegations of excesses on earlier occasions in regard to the army performance this time may lead to some confusion. Perhaps he did not mean to create any confusion. I would like him to kindly reassue the House on the point that. there will be no two opinions that neither the police nor the army, nobody, should engage in any excesses or in any atrocities.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I can assure you on this position that the army on their own will not indulge in excesses. But at the same time in an operation of this nature where atrocities are being committed on the people, I cannot possibly visualise that innocent people will not he totally involved If there are some people who are involved directly or indirectly, they are bound to be affected and we cannot blame the army for the same.

SHRI BHUBANESHWAR KALITA: The Home Minister was referring to a dialogue with that organisation and said that we should not enter into any dialogue with an organisation which demanded secessionism. In some newspaper report or somewhere it appeared, not in the shape of any letter. Perhaps only one communication came in the shape of a letter to the Governor of Assam a few months back. So the Government can have a dialogue on the basis of that letter. I want to know whether the Home Minister is considering that letter. Secondly, we are condemning the mediators as police informers. Some of our Members are saying that that gentleman has died in the process of negotiations. He had volunteered himself to do something which other people could hot do.' So we

should not condemn him or others who vounteer to negotiate. So the process of negotiations or mediation should be continued.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, there appears to be a contradiction in the Government policy. While in Punjab we are taking all hard decisions and at the same time we are going in for exploring ail avenues for a political settlement, here, I think, the Minister rules out that there will be any attempt on the part of the Government to seek a political settlement which, of course, includes negotiations with everybody who are Indian citizens.

SHRI DAVID LEDGER: Sir, I want to associate myself with what my friend has said earlier. When Mr. D. D. Thakur was the Governor of Assam, there was a formal letter from the Publicity Secretary of ULFA which stated that they were willing to have a dialogue for a negotiation. The matter was then referred to the Central Government, but it did not unfortunately respond. Now, Sir, as he has already said, will the Government consider responding to that offer because closing the doors ^for negotiations will be disastrous . . .We have to go in for a political solution. Wil'l the Home Minister kindly react to it?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Sir, if a proper atmosphere is created, certainly the Government will be willing to have a dialogue of this nature. But we have to create the necessary atmosphere for the same.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NA-GEN SAIKIA[1]): So, this is over. Now. we shall take up further discussion on BCCI...

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Not today, Sir. It is already 8 o'clock

SHRI P. UPENDRA- Let it be tomorrow at 11 o'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NA-GEN SAIKIA"): There are only three Members to speak. Let us hear them.

(.Interruptions)

SHRI P. UPENDRA: Let it be tomorrow in the first hour.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NA-GEN SAIKIA): The Minister's replj will be tomorrow. Let us finish the debate because there are only three Members to speak.

(.Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH): I am here... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: You kindly make it clear whether the Minister's reply is tomorrow or to *day?*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NA-GEN SAIKIA): He is here from 11 o'clock, sitting and listening to the speeches. And if the Members agree, then we can sit for a while and have this reply also.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. UPENDRA: Let him reply tomorrow...

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Let thee Minister reply at 11 o'clock We can finish the debate today. *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NA-GEN SAIKIA): Let us finish this business today. It will not take much time.

SHRI P. UPENDRA: No, no. Let the reply be tomorrow.

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, this discussion has already taken two days. Now the Finance Minister is here. I think, we should finish it today itself.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: There is a heavy agenda for tomorrow and day-after.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NA-GEN SAIKIA): Let us finish it today. Let us start the debate. Before that, there is a Message from the Lok Sabha.